

# Political Architecture, Electoral Dynamics and Public Delivery of Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Assessment

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## Abstract

Political development of Nigeria, electoral experience and public delivery has been influenced and impacted by ethnic chauvinism, flawed elections and skewed education. Historical and analytical methods were adopted in conducting this research. It was found out in the research that Nigeria is a forced merger of Great Britain. Her electoral landscape is punctuated by ballot snatching, vote-for-cash and result manipulation perpetuated by desperate politicians. Nonetheless, legal framework, e-registration and e-accreditation as well as the resolve of Nigerians is changing the tide. Education sector has made steady progress. Based on the findings, it was recommended that credible election begins with credible party primaries. Politicians must embrace change and tolerate risk through competitive primaries. The people must stand up to be counted by insisting that vote count and are counted. Ultimately, Nigerians must cultivate a tolerant spirit. That spirit must first dwell in the political leadership.

**Keywords:** Politics, Nigeria, Education, Election, Credible, Government

## 1. Introduction

Nations of the world have their unique historical development which becomes sharper when placed side by side with others. This holds true even among nations with closely nit colonial evolutionary experience. Several intervening variables such as traditional political institutions, religion and culture, western education, western political influence, demography, environment etc, account for this. The building blocks of Nigeria have been influenced and impacted upon by these messengers of providence and man.

Nigeria is the most populous and popular black nation on earth. It's economy has recently been found out to be Africa's largest. But Nigeria's presence as a state within the international system is rooted in the Berlin conference of 1884/85. Even the name she bears was not crafted by a Nigerian but a White Woman – namely Flora Shaw who later became the wife of the first Governor General of Nigeria. Much cannot be said about the territory referred to as federal republic of Nigeria until the arrival of European explorers in about 1590s. The Ibo, Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani, Efik/Ibibio, Nupe, Tiv etc occupied the territories later conquered and merged gradually by the British between 1861 and 1914 (Niven, 1970). Nigeria is very functional today with 36 states, a Federal Capital Territory and 774 Local Government Areas. Since independence in 1960, nine successful general elections have been conducted between 1964 and 2015. The latest and most eventful was the recently concluded presidential election in which for the first time in Nigeria's history, an opposition party defeated an incumbent ruling partly at the center. Meanwhile, the transition was equally peaceful.

Elections and electioneering are usually spiced with promises on the part of office seekers, and expectations on the part of the electorate. And rightly so. The fourth republic has had a fair share of these. For instance, Nigerians were assured by President Olusegun Obasanjo that by December, 2000 public supply of electricity to businesses and homes in Nigeria will be regular. Abject poverty was to be banished by 2007 (Champion, March 30, 2007:11). These goals were never achieved. Challenging as it may be to satisfy the needs of man, institutions of the state are grabbling with these tasks. As a first step, credible leadership recruitment process is adjudged to be the foundation for development. In this wise, the Nigeria electoral umpire (Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has taken the bull by the horn in conducting especially the 2015 general elections – credible polls accepted by Nigerians and acknowledged internationally. The new administration in Abuja has promised change in various sectors and sub-sectors including security, agriculture, youth development etc. At sub-national levels especially where continuity of policies and programmes is intact irrespective of change in personnel - Lagos state, Akwa Ibom State, Enugu State, Ondo State, Kogi State and Rivers State, continuity of democratic dividends is anticipated.

## 2. The Substance of Nigeria

Figures differ on the exact ethnic nationalities that live in Nigeria. A Rushalim Report (2012), put it at 371. These various groups are housed within the six vegetational range of Nigeria – Mangrove and Fresh Water Swamp Forest, Rain Forest, Guinea Savanna, Mountain Grassland, Sudan Savanna and Sahel Savanna. The area known as Nigeria as shown by Menakaya and Floyd (1981) was under four major spheres of influences of Benin Empire, Oyo Empire, Sokoto Caliphate and Borno Empire.

As hinted earlier, European explorers ventured into Africa as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, their interest was limited to trade and adventure. With time, jealousy among Western Businessmen and greedy

attempt at monopolizing market led to territorial squabble. In the midst of struggle among European nationals and chartered companies, Africans resisted all Europeans initial attempt to explore and exploit the area. Any such spirited resistance collapsed in the face of superior European firepower. Slow but steady, the entire area now Nigeria came under British influence. It should be noted that until 1900, the area known now as Nigeria was divided into three parts under separate administrations: The Colonial Office controlled the colony of Lagos, the Foreign Office ruled over the Oil Rivers and the Royal Nigeria Company administered the Lower Niger (Dare and Oyewole, 1987). Through the system of indirect rule, Sir Lord Lugard who was appointed High Commissioner for Northern Protectorate – 1900-1906 stabilized the polity. Success of indirect rule in the north recommended it to the West and a variant of it (The Warrant Chiefs) in the East. Though indirect rule helped Britain rule the various parts, these parts had to be merged in 1914 to form a united Nigeria.

On the heels of colonial rule was nationalist agitation for self rule. Reasons for the agitation were varied, but can be classified broadly into political, economic and social. On the economic front, recall that British firms such as U.A.C, John Holt, PZ, CFAO, SCOA and UTC dominated import-export trade at the time. Politically, natives were denied top political, legislative and senior management positions in public service. The combination of social, economic and political grievances provided the impetus for the nationalists to seek collective efforts for the liquidation of colonialism in Nigeria (Alonge, 2003). Nationalists such as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Prof. Eyo Ita, Alhaji Tafawa Belewa deployed media campaigns, mass movements, petition writing, among others to press home their demand. On March 13<sup>th</sup> 1953, at age 29, Chief Anthony Enahoro moved a motion for self government which was rejected. Nonetheless, domestic and international developments (batches of petitions, Freedom Charter of the United Nations Organization etc) mounted sustained pressure on British authorities to change guards. On October 1, 1960, the Union Jack of Great Britain was lowered at Tafawa Belewa Square, Lagos and the Green White Green Nigerian flag was hoisted in its place. For over half a century now, Nigeria has been grappling with leadership issues, electoral shortcomings, social services shortages and stealing of public funds. The paper will now take a look at electoral dynamics since independence.

### **3. Nigerian Electoral Dynamics**

General literature on democracy and participatory government is replete with efforts to define election from both the radical and liberal perspectives. On the radical divide, elections are the means through which governments and political elites can exercise legitimate control over a people and their resources, making them quiescent, malleable, and ultimately governable (Ginsberg, 1982; Maziviand Tidy, 1984, Liebanow, 1986). The understanding of election as a means to seal legitimate access to a society's deliverables is significant. Leadership recruitment should be a process that allows qualified citizens to choose between alternative persons and programmes, the one which approximate their expectations in an open, fraud-free competition and not merely a process that validate exploitation of a society's resources to the benefit of a few (Etuk, 2013). On the liberal front, Ndulo and Lulo (2010) notes that elections are a contest for power, and therefore inherently contentious, unless conducted fairly. In the words of Omodia (2009), election is defined as the process for evaluating the political performance of representatives of the people either for the purpose of returning back to political offices or replacing them with perceived better representation.

Worthy of note is that election is one of the key elements of participatory government even though there is a misconception which equates democracy to elections. Make no mistake, election and democratic consolidation are different. After all, in Mugabe Zimbabwe and Paul Biya Cameroon, elections are held regularly to legitimize at best flawed elections. That is why democratic consolidation indicators such as fundamental human rights, strong opposition party, rule law etc are lacking. Nigeria's election chronicle is neither better. General elections have been conducted by Nigerians in 1964, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 with the following outcomes;

### **4. The Federal General Election 1964**

Following independence from Great Britain in 1960, the first general election conducted by Nigerians was in 1964. Two major political alliances, the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) and United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) contested the election. NNA was made up of NPC, NNDP, Mid-West Democratic Front (MDF) Niger Delta Congress (NDC) and the Dynamic National Alliance. DPGA was made up of NCNC, AG, Northern Progressive Grand Alliance and United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). With misgivings and threat of boycott, the election took place on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1964. NNA alliance won 198 seats of available 312 seats in federal parliament (63% seats). True to their threat, UPGA boycotted the election mostly in the Eastern Region, home to the then president of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Because of massive irregularities that trialed the general election, the President declared on January 1, 1965 that he would rather resign than exercise his constitutional powers of calling on the winning party leader to form a new government (Dare and Oyewole, 1987). However, the Chief Justice of the Federation and other prominent citizens prevailed on the President to exercise his

constitutional power. He did agree.

### **5. The 1979 General Election**

Military incursion into Nigerian politics on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966 brought the first republic to an end. When ban on political activities was lifted 13 years later in 1979, the crop of the first republic politicians were very much on ground. The newly formed electoral umpire Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) prescribed guidelines for formation of political parties as well as election timetable. Election into the Nigerian senate was held on July 7<sup>th</sup> 1979. As reported by Etebah (2011) political parties were regional based. For instance, Shehu Shagari's NPN won 36 seats mostly in the north, Chief Obafemi Awolowo's UPN won 28 seats mostly from the West and Nnamdi Azikiwe's NPP won 16 seats from his eastern stronghold. It can be seen from the above that like the first republic, votes were on ethnic lines. But what about the presidential election? The presidential election took place on August 11, 1979. Shehu Shagari of NPN was declared winner. The announcement sparked controversy and litigation since the other presidential candidates felt that he did not score the required one quarter of votes in 2/3 of 19 states of the country. The researcher can recall vividly the situation FEDECO found itself in 1979. The chairman of FEDECO told Nigerians that since 2/3 of 19 states is not 13 states, the commission will give the situation ordinary interpretation. What happened was that NPN won in 12 states and scored 19.94% of votes in Kano the 13<sup>th</sup> state. All the other presidential candidates rejected FEDECO's verdict. Shagari's closest rival, Chief Awolowo went to both Electoral Tribunal and the Supreme Court to overturn FEDECO's decision but failed. The point to note is that, second republic politics was mostly a rivalry among the major ethnic nationalities of Nigeria namely; Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani. The second republic was abruptly halted by the military coup of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1983 just three months into the second term of President Shagari.

### **6.1 The 1999 General Election**

The 1999 general election was a transitional election midwife by General Abdulsalami Abubakar (rtd). It was organized after 16 years of military rule. Three political parties (Alliance for Democracy (AD), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Peoples Party (APP) were registered by a newly formed electoral umpire – Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Traditionally, presidential elections everywhere is very dynamic. The 1999 election did not miss the mark as a long time freeman, Alhaji Tofa of APP squared with a newly freed political prisoner, Olusegun Aremu Matthew Obasanjo of PDP. INEC source on the February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1999 presidential election result indicated that of the 57, 938, 945 registered voters, only 30,280,052 (52.3%) cast their votes during the election (INEC, 1999). PDP presidential candidate pulled 18,738,154 (62.8%) of votes cast and was declared winner and returned elected. Voter turn out for the National Assembly election was 24,386,247 (42.1%). At the end of the poll, AD secured 20 seats, APP 29 seat and PDP 59 seats in the National Assembly. As noted by Ikokhure (2005), the 1999 general election though conducted by the military, was roped in widespread malpractices and irregularities. The election according to Bassey (2010:41) was neither free nor fair “with the regime selecting candidates and financing them to victory”. The same report showed that the electorate failed to take a firm stand against the fraud which could have saved the day.

### **6.2 The 2003 General Elections**

This was the first civilian to civilian election of the Fourth Republic. INEC registered 60,823,022 eligible Nigerians for the polls. Interestingly, 50% and 69% turnout were recorded in the National Assembly and Presidential elections respectively (AED, 2010). Kayode (2003) reports that material for the elections were systematically delayed. By the same token, Bassey (2010) reports that Senator Omisore won election while in detention. This point is an indication that there were few places that irregularities were not alarming. Notwithstanding the above view, Kalu-Emeka (2005), notes that in 2003, there was at least an election, but the result declared were different from the votes cast. Rigging, ballot stuffing, vote-for-cash, altering scores and multiple voting were the rule not exception.

### **6.3 2007 General Elections**

In 2007, INEC introduced for the first time electronic registration via the Direct Data Capture Machine (DDCM). Nationwide registration kicked off October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2006. The machine if utilized well, was expected to reduce irregularities common to Nigeria electoral process. As matters turnout, many of the machines developed faults and ran out of battery as electricity is not stable in most parts of Nigeria. Adejumobi (2007) notes that on October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2006 before the commencement of the registration, the Nigerian Senate worried by allegations of inferior DDCM, invited the then INEC Chairman Prof. Maurice Iwu to convince it that INEC has the capacity to utilize DDCM. Right in the floor of the senate, one of the DDCM used by INEC to demonstrate mock registration developed fault after registering only 10 senators. The article therefore concluded that Nigerians were disenfranchised by the election management body before the polls. On INEC part, 61.5 million eligible Nigerians were registered and 35,397.517 million voted in the presidential polls. Meanwhile, international crisis

Group (ICG, 2007) report on the 2007 general elections shows that the polls were marred by:

- (i) Delays in the supply of voting materials;
- (ii) Delays in the arrival of INEC and ad hoc staff leading to shortage of time and the exposure of voters to all manner of inconveniences;
- (iii) Delays in the accreditation of election observers and monitors;
- (iv) Non-inclusion or omission of names in voter register;
- (v) INEC officials thumb print ballots after elections to assist the ruling party at the tribunal and courts;
- (vi) Wrong spelling and omission of candidate names and pictures in ballot papers thereby causing cancellation of elections;
- (vii) Snatching of ballot papers and result sheets by tugs of desperate politicians.

It can be deduced from the above that institutional weakness and desperation of political gladiators conspired to impinge the credibility of 2007 general elections.

#### **6.4 The 2011 and 2015 General Elections**

It is best to discuss both elections together because Prof. Jega conducted both elections as INEC Chairman. Another reason is that the legal framework for both elections was the 2010 Electoral Act. Electronic registration was used in both elections. But in 2015 for the first time, electronic accreditation of voters via the Card Reader became operational in 2015 general elections. In both elections, the modified Open Ballot System (MOBS) was used.

Voter registration for the 2011 polls kicked off January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011 and lasted one month. Display of register of voters for claims and objection lasted one week from February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2011. For the purpose of 2011 general elections, INEC registered 73, 528, 040 eligible voters (INEC, 2011). However, during the April 19<sup>th</sup> Presidential polls, 39,469,484 (53,7%) turnout for the elections.

Leading candidates in both presidential elections were the incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan and a longtime presidential aspirant Muhammadu Buhari. Jonathan defeated Buhari in 2011 whereas the tide turned in 2015. It should be noted however that Jonathan's victory in 2011 sparked violent protest in parts of the Hausa/Fulani dominated northern Nigeria leading to scores of deaths and property lost. But in 2015 that Buhari won the southern Christians did not revolt.

#### **7. Pattern of Elections in Nigeria**

Conducting free, fair and credible elections is undoubtedly a big challenge in many democracies especially the emerging ones. This has been true in Nigeria. But one argument which has gained ascendancy is that the heart of democratic government lies in the electoral process, meaning that Nigeria cannot shy away from conducting periodic credible elections. Election in itself is not the necessary and sufficient condition for democratic good governance. Where there is vote sale out, poor interest aggregation, general apathy, ballot snatching, then election can hardly bring about good governance. Rhetoric of change and a prosperous nation has been the main instrument at the disposal of the major political parties in Nigeria. Between 1999 and 2015, the electorate have gone to the polls five times. No politician should imagine that the electorate are naive. They are not. The main instrument of coming to power is known, that is popular vote. And votes are given, it should be stressed, based on tract record of service. Elements of free, fair and credible elections include:

- An enabling legislative framework,
- The impartial and neutral practices of election administrators, the media and the forces that maintain law and order and
- Acceptance of the competitive electoral process by all the political forces in the Country (Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, 2005).

However, in Nigeria, just like most emerging democracies, the political skills of the elites have remained crude through the utilization of violence, thuggery, ethnicism, religious chauvinism and other negative factors in manipulating the masses for the acquisition of political power (Ukaeje, 2001; Oloso, 2004; Wilmot, 2007; Yamma, 2008; Idahosa, 2010; Okoh, 2010, Omodia, 2011). This situation is worse-off considering the fact that these manipulations exist at both the intra and inter party level of competition for political power which has led to a scenario where votes are designed not to count in the democratic process. This has been the character of elections perpetuated by desperate politicians. So far into Nigeria's democratic journey, undemocratic and unconventional devices are used as means for acquiring political power by some politicians. But is the story altogether bad? Not exactly. What factors are indications of future credible polls?

- a. Firstly, Nigerians are themselves interested in credible polls. The truth is that no amount of falsehood can overcome the collective will of the people over a long time.
- b. Secondly, the government has expressed her readiness to conduct credible elections. For instance, at various forums, former President Goodluck Jonathan kept saying that his ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian. His words were matched with action when he conceded defeat even



- before election result was officially announced during the 2015 presidential pools.
- c. Thirdly, INEC has introduced measures to reduce likelihood of flawed elections. Electronic voter registration and e-accreditation (The Card Reader) are in place. Also the Modified Open Ballot System introduced by Prof Jega has the capacity of reducing multiple voting.
  - d. Fourthly, the Electoral Act 2010 as amended contains 145 subjects and 16 of which are possible offences and punishment for such offences (FRN, 2010).

Factoring in all these variables show that credible election is not just a desideratum, but even more so a threshold reality. After all, the just concluded 2015 presidential election other things considered, shows that an incumbent president can be thrown out of office. This is a watershed in Nigeria's political and democratic history.

### 8. Public Deliveries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

What is the purpose of government? This is a question that utilitarian scholars such as Jeremy Bentham, Davis Hume, John S. Mill etc had tackled. Their view was that government should pursue the greatest happiness of the greatest number (Udokang Snr., 2004). To guarantee citizen's happiness, their security and welfare must be topmost.

At present, Nigeria is at war with insurgents. The country is embroiled in conflicts since the return to democracy. The Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), the Bakassi Boys, Niger Delta Militants, and currently Boko Haram insurgents. In addition, armed robbery, kidnapping, political killing, and communal disputes have conspired to dwarf personal sense of safety and security in Nigeria. Government is not at rest. In fact, no effort has been spared in an attempt to guarantee security throughout the federation. OPC, Bakassi Boys and Militants have been abyss largely. On Boko Haram, the federal government has relocated military headquarters to the Boko Haram stronghold – Medugeri, in Bornu State. The relocation stays until insurgency is abyss. Understandably, development can hardly take roots in conflict situation. That's why security of life and property becomes a priority.

Volumes can be written on public deliveries of the fourth republic. Various arms of government and the various levels of government will definitely have something to show. But this paper is interested more in a snapshot of institutional delivery to draw conclusion. It is canvassed here that one of the best public deliveries of any nation is to educate her citizens. Education should be viewed as an investment in human capital. Besides, education has positive externalities. Educate part of the community and the whole of it benefits says Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008). The idea that education generates positive externalities is by no means new. Many of the classical economists argued strongly for government's active support of education on the grounds of the positive externalities that society would gain from a more educated labour force and populace (Van-Den-Berg 2001). By educating its people, a society derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid ones (Smith, 1976). Education and constant instruction will lead to positive attitudinal re-orientation. This will aid voter's independent mindedness and it will reduce to the barest minimum incidents of rigging, thuggery and apathy. This may prove more successful than reliance on electronic devices such as DDCM or Card Ridder. In this wise, both at the centre and at various state levels, universal basic education is free in Nigeria. In Akwa Ibom State for instance, a law on free and compulsory education was passed in 2007. Words have been matched with actions. Head Teachers in primary schools and Principals of secondary schools are given subvention of ₦ 100.00 and ₦ 300.00 per pupil or student per term respectively. Also, through the Inter Ministerial Direct Labour Coordinating Committee, public schools are renovated and reconstructed as need arises. The federal government led by Goodluck Jonathan established fourteen federal universities. By that action all states of Nigeria have at least one federal university in addition to other tertiary institutions. Education therefore provides the structure upon which the future of Nigeria is built. Data here shows the progress made by government to advance reach of knowledge to Nigerians. Effort is made by the author to contrast the two periods under review namely – the military and civil periods.

Table 1.1 Percentage of population whose age corresponds to the prescribed age for schooling from 1991-1999

Schools	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
<b>Primary</b>	13,639,286 (83.7%)	14,805,937 (88%)	15,870,280 (90.9%)	16,190,947 (86.4%)	18,341,791 (98.1%)
<b>Secondary</b>	3,124,277 (26%)	3,600,620 (29%)	4,032,083 (31.4%)	4,451,329 (33.5%)	6,184,655 (44.9)
<b>Tertiary</b>	605,089 (7.4%)	792,869 (9.3%)	838,540 (9.8%)	931,690 (10.2)	1,000,758 (10.6%)

Source: Adapted from Durosaro, 1997

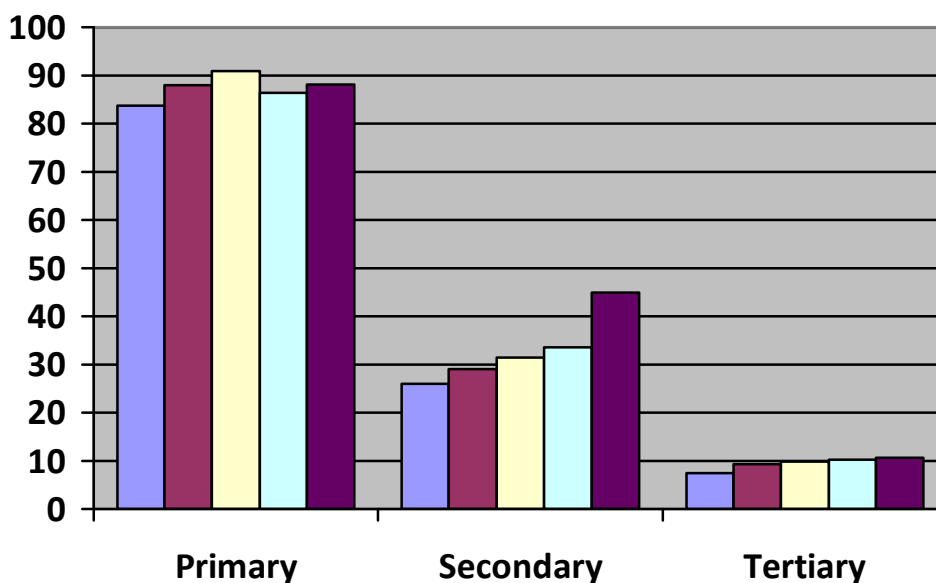


Figure 1.1 Bar Chart representation of table 1.1

Source: Adapted from Durosaro, 1997

The above data represent the military years of General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sani Abacha. Whereas the data to follow represents part of the fourth republic.

Table 2 School and percentage of enrolment in Nigeria between 2005-2009

Schools	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Primary	17,139,021 (88.7%)	17,805,721 (90%)	18,170,110 (92.9%)	16,990,892 (79.4%)	20,041,213 (94.1%)
Secondary	43.8%	38.9%	35.1%	31.6%	34.2%
Tertiary	1,540,021	1,562,010	1,602,441	1,680,112	1,701,123

Source: Adapted from Jang, 2010

It is evident from the above data that school enrolment at all levels of education has increased appreciatively in the fourth republic. Evident of course is the fact that increased school enrolment influences the knowledge base of Nigeria. Without human capital development, sustainable economic growth may not be achieved in Nigeria. Further, for the first time, government has established 150 *Almajiri* Schools across the northern states and the Out-of-School-Children Programme (Metuh, 2014). To guarantee enhanced access to tertiary education, the Jonathan Administration established 14 new universities (9 in the northern states of Kogi, Nasarawa, Katsina, Yobe, Taraba, Jigawa, Kebbi, Gombe and Zamfara states and 3 in southern states of Ebonyi, Bayelsa and Ekiti) including 2 specialised Police and Maritime Universities.

The relationship between education and development is well established such that education is a key index to development and that the development of nations in the 21st century depends on the quality and quantum of their educated citizens (World Bank, 2008). Education is very vital to the pace of scientific, technological, social, political and economic development of any nation. Increased schooling is a call of course on the nation to review programmes so as to provide space for all these citizens. But before that, knowledge imparted must be qualitative. Much of the world is driven by technology. So, attention of schools must shift from general to specific. The specific here is science and technology education. Provision of adequate infrastructural facilities (buildings, desk, laboratory equipment, texts) in the educational institutions must be at optimum level.

## 9. Conclusion and Recommendations

Architecture of Nigerian politics, dynamics of elections and public delivery witnessed thus far in the fourth republic is far from perfect. Many intervening variables such as evolutionary development, ethnic chauvinism, flawed leadership recruitment exercises etc have contributed to this state of affairs. Nonetheless, since the return to civil rule in 1999, top government personnel and institutions are responding to the call by Nigerians to right the wrongs. For instance, former president Goodluck Jonathan conceded defeat in the 2015 general elections immediately it became obvious that the result favours his main challenger General Buhari. On it part, INEC has trained and deploys NYSC Corps Members as well as DDCM and MOBS all aimed at delivering acceptable polls in Nigeria. Government has equally drafted enabling laws to guide the conduct of credible elections.

Education which is the birth rock of development is receiving attention.

Moving forward, Nigerians must cultivate a tolerant spirit. That spirit must first dwell in the political leadership. Recall that Nigeria's nationalists though from different ethnic nationalities, had a synergy in their activities. The common objective was to wrestle power off the British. They did succeed. Since politics gives life to society, a tolerant political leadership can quickly influence economic, religious and social sub-systems. If Etim intercepts a pass, sets up Emeka upfront and he places the ball behind the net, Nigeria has scored, not Emeka. The point? To succeed, Nigerians must work with one another. Also, for far too long Nigeria has grappled with suspicious elections. Credible election begins with credible party primaries. Politicians must embrace change and tolerate risk through competitive primaries. Nigeria must invest more on leadership focused attitudinal re-orientation and participatory political awareness to enable her citizens understand and appreciate the multiplier effect of competitive free and fair elections throughout the entire electoral process. Consequent upon this, the people will stand up to be counted by insisting that vote count and are counted. Also, funding of education cannot be left in the hands of the government alone. Therefore, effective collaboration between the public and private sectors is anticipated.

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